SOME NEW BOOKS.

The Survivors of the Six Nations.

How many of those who turn for perhaps the twentieth time from the ardent perusal of the Leatherstocking Tales, are aware that it is no vanished race and no obliterated state of things which Cooper has depicted, but that a few hours' journey would disclose to them the counterpart of the scenes and personalities in which they take so deep an interest. How many know that the impressive, and in some ways admirable type of red man whom the great American novelist delighted to portray, and who found his worthiest exemplar among the members of the Iroquois, still lives in his descendants, occupying reservations in the Empire State, thorough *imperia in imperio*, whose free and independent masters retain the physical, mental, and moral characteristics, the religion, the ideas, the customs, and the habits of their aboriginal ancestors. Where an inkling of the truth exists, it is limited to an impression that tribes once numerous and powerful have dwindled to a few debased and drunken half breeds, who have no recollection of the past and no claim upon the future, whereas the whole truth is that the men of the Six Nations are a vigorous, self-respecting, and improving race, who look back with pride upon their history and with hope to the coming years, and who are actually more numerous at the present hour than they have been at any other period of their long and changeful corporate existence. For bringing out these facts with the needed carefulness of research and minuteness of exposition we are indebted to the directors of the United States census, who deputed special agents to an investigation of the subject and have now published the results of their inquiries in a volume entitled *The Six Nations of New York*. When we mention that one of these agents, Gen. Henry B. Carrington, U. S. A., spent ten months among the Iroquois of the Empire State, during which time he visited every house on the reservations, we enable the reader to appreciate the amount of arduous labor represented in the book whose contents we shall try to outline.

I.

Not only is the League of the Iroquois known to have been the most powerful and extensive combination of red men which existed north of the Gulf of Mexico, but among Americanists there is a growing tendency to admit that they had reached a stage of civilization almost if not quite upon a level with that attained by the Aztecs, or by the subjects of the Incas in Peru. Nor is it possible to say how much further they might have gone in the path of self-development had the discovery of America been long deferred, for the Five (afterward the Six) Nations were comparatively a young confederacy at the time of the first English, Dutch, and Swedish settlements on the Atlantic seaboard, and for upward of a century after their first contact with a white man they continued to expand the area of their power, and to advance in social organization and in the civilizing arts. They gradually acquired control of the vast territories stretching from the hills and valleys of New England to the Mississippi River, and from the region of the present Carolinas to far beyond the northern edge of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. When we consider the breadth and the swiftness of their conquests, and their power of absorbing and assimilating vanquished peoples, we feel that without hyperbole we may describe the Iroquois as the Romans of the New World. There is another point of view from which we may compare them to the few but inimitably organized citizens of the Roman republic. The extreme smallness of their numbers, compared with the immensity of the territory which they overran and governed, may well excite surprise. It can be affirmed with a close approach to certainty that from the time of the advent of Europeans on the American continent the League of the Iroquois never comprehended more than 15,000 persons, and never had an available fighting force exceeding 2,500. The equally surprising fact is now revealed by the last United States census, and by contemporary Canadian statistics, that if we include the members of the Six Nations now domiciled in the West and in the Dominion as well as those living in New York, the League of the Iroquois is numerically stronger in 1890 than it was in 1660, when the first attempt at careful computation was made by European observers. In 1660 its numbers were estimated at 11,000, whereas in 1890 they have mounted to 15,870.

At the time of the arrival of the white man on the Atlantic coast, the Iroquois confederacy of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations—not till long afterward were the Tuscaroras added—had practically mastered the Algonquin tribes, which in Canada, New England, the midland and western regions, had previously girdled the New York red men as with a belt of fire. It was, therefore, before the first white settlement within its boundary that the territory now belonging to the State of New York was invested with a semblance of imperial dignity in the eyes of the natives east of the Mississippi. The secrecy of the supremacy acquired by the Five Nations lay, as we have said, in their organization, which for the place and period was of an amazingly elastic and prehensile character. Unlike the Algonquins, whose tribes had nothing to bind them together except certain similarities of dialect, the Iroquois had constitutional bonds of union, presenting as they did in the heart of the wilderness of central New York the barbaric prototype of a federal republic. The traditions relating to the formation of this League have been handed down in wampum records which have been carefully preserved, and to which later we shall make a more extended reference. The members of the Iroquois were called Ko-ni-shi-o-ni, the builders of the cabin, or "long house," whereof the Mohawks kept the eastern and the Senecas the western door; while the great council fire was kindled and the federal capital was placed among the Onondagas. Words attributed to Hiawatha, "the very wise man," set forth the motives of the coalition and describe the tribal peculiarities of its different components. The scene of the conference at which the words are supposed to have been uttered was on the hillslope north of Onondaga Lake. "We have met," said the wise man, "members of many nations, many of you at a great distance from your homes, to provide for our common safety. To oppose by tribes or single-handed our foes from the north would result in our destruction. We must unite as a common band of brothers, then we shall be safe. You Mohawks, sitting under the shadow of great trees whose roots sink deep into the earth and whose branches spread over the vast country, shall be the first nation because you are warlike and mighty. You, Oneidas, a people who lean your bodies against the everlasting stone that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation because you give good counsel. You, Onondagas, who have your habitation by the side of the great mountain and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation because you are greatly gifted in speech and are powerful in war. You, Cayugas, whose dwelling place is the dark forest and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation because of your superior cunning in hunting. And you, Senecas, a people who live in the open country and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation because you understand the art of making cabins and of raising corn and beans. You five great and mighty nations must combine and have one common interest, and then no foe shall be able to subdue us. If we unite, the Great Spirit will smile upon us. Brothers, these are the words of Hiawatha. Let them sink deep into your hearts."

II.

As regards the date of the formation of this League, it is placed by most authorities not long before 1535, when, on the site of the future city of Montreal, Cartier compiled a vocabulary of Indian words which show that the Iroquois language was then spoken by the Hurons, who must consequently have already been conquered or absorbed by the confederacy. Purely aristocratic in spirit, but republican and representative in form, the League was designed exclusively for mutual defence. Each nation was distinct and independent as to its domestic affairs, but bound to the others by ties of honor as regards all matters affecting the general good. Each nation had principal sachems or civil magistrates with subordinate officers, in all 200, besides fifty possessed of hereditary rights. War chiefs were chosen for special enterprises, and these did not hesitate in extreme cases to depose the civil sachems in order to give greater energy to collective action. In principle, military service was not compulsory, but voluntary, though for an able-bodied man to shirk it brought disgrace. Passing from tribal to federal administration, we observe that the League had a President, with six advisers, and possessed authority to convene representatives of all the tribes in cases requiring concerted operations. Merit was made the sole basis of federal office. Oho-to-da-ha, an aged Onondagan, was the first President of the League; the mat upon which he sat is still piously preserved, and the buckskin threads upon which are strung the beads commemorating his election, is still kept. A characteristic feature of the Iroquois social system, which survives to-day in some of the Six Nations, was that the matrons sat in council with a substantial veto as to peace or war. That woman should have been man's coworker in legislation will surprise no one when he learns that the Iroquois traced and still trace descent through females. Under the Iroquois scheme of relationship, the sisters of a man's maternal grandmother were equally his grandmothers, the sisters of his mother were equally his mothers, and the children of his mother's sister were his brothers and sisters. To this day the child of an Iroquois woman by a white father is entitled to a share in the Government annuity; but no such share belongs to the children of a white woman by an Indian father.

We should not overlook the fact that more intricate measures were devised for welding together the Five Nations than the simple imposition of a federal bond. In the Iroquois nomenclature the term tribe was by no means synonymous with nation. There were eight tribes or clans, known as the Wolf, the Bear, the Turtle, the Snipe, the Beaver, the Deer, the Horse, and the Heron. The totem, or mark, of each was eventually placed upon treaties, after the European style. Each tribe was divided into five parts, and one of these parts was located in each nation. Thus the tribes formed a complex and inseparable tie for the confederated peoples. A tribe was regarded as one family, and marriage between members of it was rigorously prohibited. The Mohawk Wolf regarded the Seneca Wolf as his brother, and thus if the nations had fallen into collision Wolf would have been turned against Wolf, Bear against Bear, or, in other words, brother against brother. The history of the brethren of the "long house" exhibits the wisdom of these organic provisions, for during the whole history of the League they never fell into anarchy or verged upon dissolution from internal disorder. The whole Iroquois race became ultimately interwoven into one great family of related households. We should observe, however, that the precautions taken to insure purity of blood, and to avert physical defects were not confined to forbidding marriage between members of the same tribe. The eight tribes, considered collectively, were separated into two divisions of four tribes each, the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, and Turtle forming one division, and the Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk the other. Marriage between members of the same division was nearly as strictly prohibited as between members of the same tribe.

There was a considerable difference between the Five Nations in respect of their advance in civilization. Singularly enough the Senecas, who in early days had to bear the brunt of assault from the most dangerous quarter, to wit, the north and the northwest, were the first to make some approach to the substitution of an industrial for a militant system. They framed the cabin, tilled the soil, made clothing, and manufactured stone implements and pottery. It is, on the other hand, a natural outcome of their frontier situation that they should have developed conspicuous skill in the construction of military works of defence.

We have seen that as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century the Iroquois were the rising power in North America east of the Mississippi. It is probable that had not New England interfered, they would have not only conquered but assimilated all the inferior tribes of red men north of the Gulf of Mexico. As early as 1607 Capt. John Smith met a band of them in canoes upon the upper waters of Chesapeake Bay on their way to the territories of the Powhatan confederacy. Seizing upon firearms as fast as they could acquire them and learn their use from Champlain's French followers, they rapidly extended the range of their triumphs. In 1643 they nearly destroyed the Eries and pushed their expeditions to northern Ohio. In 1670 they controlled the whole country between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario and the north bank of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Ottawa River. That is to say, they made themselves masters of nearly the whole region which was subsequently to become the province of Upper Canada. About the year last mentioned, the Iroquois became the terror of the New England tribes, which had been practically subjugated by the English, so that Colden, writing of that period, says: "I have been told by old men of New England who remember the Indian wars, that as soon as a Mohawk was discovered in their country the Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, 'A Mohawk! a Mohawk!' upon which all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting the least resistance." In 1680 the Iroquois invaded Illinois, even to the Mississippi, at the time when La Salle was preparing to descend that river to the sea. Not much later the Cherokees upon the Tennessee River and the Catawbas of South Carolina yielded captives to these omnipresent invaders. Michigan and even Lake Superior were visited by them.

In the struggles of the French and English for empire in the New World, the Iroquois eventually sided with the latter, to which fact it has been argued with much plausibility France should ascribe the final overthrow of her magnificent schemes of colonization in North America. The Revolutionary war subjected the judgment of the Iroquois Confederates to a severe test. The protest of the Oneidas divided the League, and the Five Nations as nations did not unite with the British, although many individuals joined them as volunteers, especially among the Mohawks, who had been powerfully influenced by the Johnson family. For the loss which these volunteers encountered at the battle of Oriskany they afterward avenged themselves by the massacre at Wyoming. After the peace of 1783, the British having made not the slightest effort on behalf of their Indian auxiliaries, most of the Mohawks took refuge in Canada, while the Oneidas and Cayugas gradually sold their lands and departed westward.

III.

From the past let us turn to the present and survey the actual condition of the brethren of the "long house." We have seen that the total number of Iroquois in 1890 was 15,870, but of these 8,483 dwell in Canada. Of the 7,387 credited to the United States 1,716 are Oneidas settled in Wisconsin, 255 are Senecas and Cayugas whose homes are in the Indian Territory, and there are 79 individual members of the League scattered through several of the States. In New York the survivors of the Six Nations number 5,239, and with these should be coupled a band of Onondagas and Senecas who live on the Cornplanter reservation in Warren county, Pa. The New York Iroquois, with whom we are especially concerned, after ceding by successive treaties by far the greater part of their lands for goods, or for money payable either in a round sum or in annuities, now occupy seven reservations, collectively comprising, according to the computation made for the United States census, 87,327 acres. The three largest of these are Allegany, containing 30,469 acres; Cattaraugus, which has 21,680, and St. Regis, which comprehends, exclusive of swamp land, 14,640 acres. The area of soil fit for tillage in the seven tracts is estimated at 47,800 acres, of which about 30,000 are fenced and 20,404 are cultivated by the Indians. The estimated value of the seven reservations is $1,810,700. It follows that if these lands were sold and the proceeds were divided per capita, each of the 5,203 Indians and adopted persons would receive $348. But none of the lands can be sold to red men without a flagrant violation of the treaties made with the Six Nations. Neither can a reservation be distributed and assigned in severalty on the basis of a general division. The title to the lands within a given reservation is a joint title vested in the Indian families occupying them. By Indian custom, however, the head of a family or any adult male is permitted to build a house on any unoccupied land and fence in as much soil as he can cultivate, and the species of property thus acquired, which amounts to a right to occupy, may be sold or devised by will to any of his fellow Indians. There is, however, no well-ordered system of record for grants or transfers of land in habitual use among the Six Nations, not even among the Senecas, although they have Surrogates and a clerk for the registration of grants made by the Council. The infrequency of conveyance out of a family, and the publicity of the transfer when made are deemed adequate protection against fraud. Verbal wills, recited at the funeral feasts in the presence of witnesses to the devise, are generally held sacred; and a sale accompanied with a delivery of possession is respected, although no written conveyance may have been executed. Of late, nevertheless, written wills have become common, and Indian farmers, who have made substantial improvements, have had their muniments of title inspected in due legal form for deposit or record at the county seats of the counties in which their reservations lie.

In New York, as elsewhere, the Indian has fewer wants than his white neighbors, and owing doubtless to inherited proclivities is indifferent to the acquiring of anything beyond the limit of his actual necessities. There are but six members of the Six Nations whose property is valued at $10,000 or over, and only twenty-eight whose individual accumulations range between $5,000 and $10,000. There are but 268 who possess the equivalent of upward of $1,000. The total value of the houses on the reservations of the Six Nations in New York is $226,000, and that of the household effects falls a little short of $64,000 The number of houses, frame, log, or plank, is 1,206. Apropos of the household effects, it should be mentioned that these include 283 sewing machines and fifty-six pianos and organs, and that all the Iroquois in New York now wear clothes similar to those of their white neighbors. We have said that the total number of acres, including hay land, cultivated by the Six Nations in 1890 was 20,404. To these may be added the 360 acres tilled out of the 640 acres belonging to the outlying band of Seneca and Onondaga Indians in Cornplanter, Pa. The aggregate value of the agricultural products raised on these 20,764 acres was $97,887. Among these products hay, potatoes, corn, oats, and wheat figure in the order named. The live stock of the Six Nations was valued at $120,860. The list includes 987 horses, 1,968 cattle, 1,222 swine, and 9,336 fowls. The total value of the agricultural implements belonging to the New York Iroquois was $58,702, nearly half of which is credited to the Cattaraugus Senecas. We note, finally, that 1,703 members of the Six Nations work for a living, of whom 696 males are laborers and 578 males are farmers. The carpenters, mechanics, wood carvers, and lumbermen number collectively 48. There are nine doctors, eight preachers, and five attorneys. As regards the field open to an Indian attorney, it is of course well understood that while members of the Six Nations may be arrested, tried, and punished for breaches of our criminal law, they are not under the jurisdiction of our civil courts. The maintenance of order and the settlement of disputes regarding property are left to the Indians themselves, and regulative powers are for the most part exercised by the chiefs. The Senecas, however, on the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations have obtained from the New York Legislature an act organizing peacemaker courts, from which an appeal lies to the National Council. These courts exercise jurisdiction in all matters relating to real estate, wills, and divorces.

IV.

Before glancing at the forms of marriage and divorce which obtain among the Iroquois, we should mark the broad distinction between the Christian and the pagan elements of the Six Nations. We should perhaps begin by noting a still more fundamental difference between the 2,844 who can speak English and the 1,985 who cannot. There are on the seven reservations twelve churches, and the entire number of communicants is 1,074. Among the Cornplanter Senecas and St. Regis (Mohawk) Indians there are no pagans; on the other hand, of the Cattaraugus and Allegany Senecas a majority belong to the pagan party. As a rule where both Christians and pagans dwell within the same reservation they occupy distinct settlements. Among the Tuscaroras there is no pagan family recognized as such, but the pagans constitute two-thirds of the Tonawanda Senecas and Onondagas. As might be expected, the pagan Iroquois have preserved most faithfully the customs of their forefathers, but in respect of morality, if we except the view taken of marriage and divorce, they are shown by the careful researches of the census takers to be quite as exemplary as their Christian brethren, or as average white people anywhere. Whether pagan or Christian, the Iroquois are singularly law-abiding, and there are no white communities where person and property are more sacred, or where women can walk unattended at night with greater security. Pauperism is extremely rare, and the tramp is almost unknown. Indeed, there are only two paupers noted on the schedules of the census takers. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the general well-being of the Iroquois communities, notwithstanding the small amount of wealth per capita, than the vital statistics. The percentage of deaths under one year of age is low, and the percentage of persons reaching an advanced age without a chronic impairment of faculties, is higher than that exhibited by any group of white people in the United States. Bearing in mind that the Six Nations in New York only number 5,239, we can appreciate the fact that the enumerators found six persons over 90 years of age, twenty-six between 80 and 90, sixty-four between 70 and 80, and 173 between 60 and 70 years. The age of Gov. Blacksnake, who died on the Allegany reservation in 1859, was estimated at from 117 to 130 years.

It is, as we have said, in those Iroquois who have remained pagan that we can trace most distinctly the religion, social organization, manners, and customs of their forefathers. As it happens, in all the New York reservations except the St. Regis and Tuscarora, the executive control is in the hands of the pagan party. We may take as an example of the Iroquois who have clung most firmly to their traditions the Onondagas, who retain in the so-called Onondaga Castle, near Syracuse, the custody of the wampums of the Six Nations. These wampums, we may remind the reader, consist of white and purple beads made of spiral water shells, and strung on the sinews of deer. It was the duty of the keeper of the wampums to store all laws, treaties, and other important facts in his memory by associating them with the successive lines and arrangements of the beads. These wampums recall the quipus, or knotted cords, by which the ancient Peruvians assisted memory; and they also faintly suggest the picture writing of the Aztecs, because sometimes an attempt was made to delineate figures and buildings by the grouping of the beads. Among the beaded records still preserved, one commemorates a treaty made by the Five Nations with seven Canadian tribes before the year 1690; a second chronicles a convention of the Six Nations in 1722, on the adoption of the Tuscaroras into the League, and a third bears witness to the treaty made with President Washington on behalf of the thirteen original States.

The Onondaga nation, which we select as an example, is governed by twenty-seven chiefs, all but two being of the pagan party. In accordance with ancient usage, these chiefs are chosen by the females of the families represented, and they practically hold office for life. So great is the respect paid to these sachems, or councillors, that there is but little disorder, and the offences against person or property are but few. Several attempts made since 1882 to reorganize the Onondagas upon social principles resembling those exhibited in white communities, have, up to the present time, miscarried. As regards sexual immorality, there was absolutely none before the advent of the white man, and the census agents are convinced that there is very little now. Polygamy was forbidden, but a dissolution of marriage was permitted at the will of the dissatisfied party. The same state of things prevails to-day in the pagan sections of the Iroquois communities. We are told that in case of family discord it was deemed the duty of the mothers of the couple to secure peace if possible. That discord should be not infrequent is intelligible, seeing that marriage is a matter not of choice on the part of the bride and groom, but of arrangement between the parents. A simple ceremony like the interchange of presents corroborates the agreement made. Each of the contracting parties retains control of his or her separate property. Inasmuch, however, as only descent through females is recognized, the custody of children belongs exclusively to the mother, and the burden of their support falls on her when she is deserted by the father. When Iroquois are converted to Christianity they submit to a marriage ceremony, but the pagans regard marriage by a minister as treason to their traditional institutions, and as unconscionably wicked. It is, however, to be noted that while the pagan Iroquois consider a divorce entirely permissible at the will of either party, that will must be formally announced, and they do not tolerate infidelity while the marriage tie remains unbroken. The Iroquois, unlike many other Indians, have at all times been so free from the vice of sensuality that their laws did not even sanction the abandonment of female prisoners to the passions of the victor. As to the so-called orgies attributed to the participants in the pagan dances of the Six Nations, the agents of the census declare that these are less demoralizing than some of the entertainments licensed in American cities. The agents also aver that the New York Iroquois, unlike many Western Indians, are not conspicuously addicted to gambling. There are among them individual gamblers, but these, it will be found upon inquiry, have been debased by earlier associations with white people. It is also affirmed that the sweeping denunciation of the Iroquois as a race of drunkards is slanderous. No liquor can be sold upon the reservations, and where intemperance exists it can be directly traced to the white liquor dealers on the border.

The compilers of this volume do not fail to tell us something about the games and amusements of the Six Nations. Among the pagans the chief occasions for merrymaking are the dances which take place at stated periods of the year. The "maple dance," indeed, which used to commemorate the first flowing of the sap in the spring, has, like the sugar maple, almost disappeared. The berry festival celebrates the arrival of the strawberry, the "first ripening fruit," and the advent of the whortleberry, the "first fruit of trees," is similarly welcomed. The first staple product of tillage is honored by the green corn festival. Of such annual merrymakings there are thirteen. The national game of the Iroquois is a form of "ball" and the origin of our modern "lacrosse." Pontiac's stratagem, by which his disguised warriors sent their ball inside the fort at Detroit to afford a pretext for entrance, has given it historical interest. In this game representatives of the four brother tribes, the Wolf, Bear, Beaver, and Turtle, are matched against the corresponding brother clans, the Deer, Snipe, Heron, and Hawk. Two poles, by way of a gate, are set in each end of the ground at a distance of from one to three rods. From five to seven play on each side and each of the competing parties tries to carry the ball through his own gate a designated number of times. The play begins in the centre, and neither party is allowed to touch the ball with hand or foot. The game of javelin, which is still popular in spring and autumn, is played by casting a dart of hickory or maple at a ring, either stationary or in motion. Another game, called "snow snake," consists in sending a long staff of hickory, with a round head slightly turned up and pointed with lead, over the snow in an undulating course for a distance of 300 yards or even a quarter of a mile. Archery is still much practised. Among the fireside games blindman's bluff is in high favor. As to the pagan dances, we have already said that these are assuming the guise of an innocent pastime, devoid of any offensive associations.

V.

We come, lastly, to the ancestral religion still adhered to by a large portion of the Six Nations. The so-called pagan Iroquois is no atheist. He does not worship nature, but the god of nature, and he regards all physical objects which minister to his comfort and happiness as the gifts of the Deity to His children. The success of John Elliot in missionary work was due to his deliberate endeavor to explain that the white men had in their hands the revealed record of the attributes and providential dealings of the same Great Spirit whom the New England Indians, like the Iroquois, ignorantly worshipped. Some idea of the simple creed of the Iroquois may be gathered from the refrain of the song which to this day is sung in the course of their New Year's festivities. From the refrain which has been handed down from generation to generation we quote the following passage: "Hail! Hail! Hail! Listen now with an open ear to the words of Thy people as they ascend to Thy dwelling! Give to the keepers of Thy faith wisdom to execute rightly Thy command! Give to our warriors and our mothers strength to perform the sacred ceremonies of Thy institution! We thank Thee that Thou has preserved them pure unto this day. Continue to hearken. We thank Thee that the lives of so many of Thy children have been spared to participate in the exercises of this day. Lastly, to Thee, our Creator and Ruler, we give thanks. In Thee are all things embodied. We believe Thou canst do no evil; that Thou doest all things for our good and happiness. Should Thy people disobey Thy command, deal not harshly with them; but be kind to them, as Thou hast been to our fathers in times long gone by. Hearken to our words as they ascend, and may they be pleasing to Thee, our Creator, the preserver of all things visible and invisible. Na ho!"

But although the Iroquois were essentially no atheists, their Deity was a tribal one. According to their traditions, no white man can ever enter the Indian heaven. As the Hebrews regarded Jehovah, so do the brethren of the "long house" look on the Great Spirit. Nevertheless, so deeply were the Six Nations impressed by their enlightened and humane treatment at the hands of Washington, that they have adopted a new article of faith respecting his state of being after death. The belief which has arisen on this subject has been set forth as follows: "Hard by the entrance of heaven is a walled-in enclosure, whose ample grounds are laid out with avenues and shaded walks. In the middle is a spacious mansion constructed in the fashion of a fort. Every object in nature which can please a cultivated taste has been gathered into this blooming Eden to make it a joyous place of sojourn for the immortal Washington. The faithful Indian, as he enters heaven, passes this beautiful enclosure. He sees and recognizes the illustrious inmate as to and fro he paces in quiet meditation. No word ever passes his lips. Arrayed in his uniform and in a state of perfect felicity, he is destined to remain throughout eternity in the solitary enjoyment of the celestial residence prepared for him by the Great Spirit." M. W. H.

Nichol's Life of Carlyle.

The English Men of Letters series, edited by Mr. John Morley and published in this country by the Harpers, has contained many creditable examples of biography, but none has attracted more attention than the life of *Thomas Carlyle*, by JOHN NICHOL, which is now added to the collection. It seems probable that this book will live as long as English-speaking readers continue to feel a deep interest in the subject, for it embodies in a compact and convenient form all the important facts comprised in the extensive biography by Mr. Froude. Like that work, indeed, the volume before us will not altogether satisfy the more devoted admirers of Carlyle, for his defects are set forth with a candor and thoroughness that may be thought out of proportion to their real significance. Yet none will dispute that the author recognizes the greatness of Carlyle and appreciates the profundity of the mark made by him on the thought and feeling of his time. He sees that English literature has had no such potent individuality since Johnson, and that the influence exercised by Carlyle was of a more spiritual and elevating kind than that exerted by the arbiter of eighteenth century opinion. Carlyle was a prophet in the Hebrew sense and his message was that human life must be pitched upon a higher plane. For inspiration, rather than for instruction, his fellowmen became his debtors.

At various points in his narrative Mr. Nichol exemplifies the curious perversities of Carlyle's critical judgment. We cannot see that there is any disloyalty or even artistic error on the part of a biographer in setting forth such idiosyncrasies. They help us to understand the intellectual attitude and the character of an extraordinary man. They tell us exactly what Carlyle himself was anxious to discover about the men and women whom he endeavored to interpret. To learn, moreover, how often and how grossly Carlyle could be in the wrong, serves as a wholesome check upon the too ready assent which his power of stirring the heart might prompt us to yield to all his utterances. We shall collect from some of Mr. Nichol's chapters the proof of how little truth and how much wrongheadedness characterized some of Carlyle's dicta, and then we shall hasten to show how earnest and how adequate is the biographer's sense of the debt under which generations have been placed by the author of the "French Revolution," "Cromwell," and "Frederick the Great."

I.

As a rule, the least satisfactory of Carlyle's criticisms were those passed upon his peers, or those who came nearest to his altitude, or who were least willing to acknowledge his supremacy. Quite late in life, referring to the Chelsea days, he says: "The best of those who then flocked about us was Leigh Hunt," who never seriously said him nay; "and the worst, Lamb," who was not among the worshippers. It was Lamb who is reported to have said in some entertainer's lobby after listening for an evening to Carlyle's invectives: "Are you looking for your t-t-turban?" and the phrase may have rankled in the great man's mind. For John Stuart Mill there is no doubt that Carlyle long felt as much regard as it was possible for him to entertain toward a proximate equal. Yet the following allusion to Mill is characteristic: "He had taken a great attachment to me (which lasted about ten years and then suddenly ended, I never knew how); an altogether clear, logical, honest, amicable, affectionate young man and respected as such here, though sometimes felt to be rather colorless, even aqueous, no religion in any form traceable in him." Elsewhere he says of Mill: "His talk is sawdustish, like ale when there is no wine to be had." He had shown in the essays that he could thoroughly appreciate Voltaire, Rousseau Diderot, and other great French writers of the last century; but as regards French literature since the Revolution he was either ignorant or unsympathetic. All that he could find to say of the authors of the Comédie Humaine and Consuelo was that they were ministers in a Phallus worship. When Thiers talked of Michelet with contempt, Carlyle, unconscious of the numerous affinities between the latter historian and himself, half assented. Of Guizot he wrote: "Tartuffe, gaunt, hollow, resting on the everlasting 'No' with a haggard consciousness that it ought to be the everlasting 'Yea.' To me an extremely detestable kind of man." In the streets of Paris he found no one who could properly be called a gentleman. The truly ingenious and strong men of France were, he said, among the industrial classes making money, while the politicians and literary men were mere play actors. With John Bright, whom he met at Rochdale, he had, he said, "a paltry speaking match" on topics described as "shallow, totally worthless to me." Of Emerson, who had been his most serviceable friend, he wrote: "His doctrines are too airy and thin for the solid, practical heads of Lancashire. [Emerson had been lecturing in that region.] We had immense talkings with him here, but found that he did not give us much to chew the cud upon. He is a pure-minded man, but I think his talent is not quite so high as I had anticipated." Perhaps the worst of Carlyle's criticisms was perpetrated on Keats: "The kind of man he was gets ever more horrible to me. Force of hunger for pleasure of every kind, and want of all other force. Such a structure of soul it would once have been very evident was a chosen 'Vessel of Hell.'" A reference, also, to Macaulay's history is ungenerously contemptuous: "The most popular ever written. Fourth edition already within perhaps four months. Book to which four hundred editions could not add any value, there being no depth of sense in it at all, and a very great quantity of rhetorical wind." Landor, in whom there were striking points of likeness to Carlyle, he described in 1840 as "a wild man, whom no extent of culture had been able to tame. His intellectual faculties seemed to me to be weak in proportion to his violence of temper; the judgment he gives about anything is more apt to be wrong than right—as the inward whirlwind shows him this side or the other of the objects: *Sides* of an object are all that he sees." Mr. Nichol's comment on this description is, *De te fabula narratur*. It should, however, be mentioned that when Carlyle visited Landor later at Bath, he was "much taken with the gigantesque, explosive, but essentially chivalrous and almost heroic old man." Carlyle's estimate of John Wilson, who died in April, 1854, is kindly, but makes discriminations now generally accepted as to "Christopher North": "To say the truth, I always loved Wilson. He had such nobleness of heart and many traits of noble genius, but the central tie-beam seemed always wanting; very long ago I perceived in him the most irreconcilable contradictions—Toryism with sans culottism, Methodism of a sort with total incredulity, &c. Wilson seemed to me always by far the most gifted of our literary men, either then or still: and yet intrinsically he has written nothing that can endure." A little later Douglas Jerrold is dismissed as "last of the London wits; I hope the last." The broad church party in the English Church he treated with some injustice. Maurice he stigmatized as "muddleheaded." The authors of Essays and Reviews he denominated the "Septem contra Christum;" they should, he said, be shot for deserting their posts. Even Dean Stanley, their *amicus curiæ*, whom he liked, came in for a share of his sarcasm. "There he goes," he said to Froude, "boring holes in the bottom of the Church of England." Of Colenso, who was doing as much as any one for the emancipation from superstition which Carlyle advocated in the "Exodus from Houndsditch," he spoke with open contempt, saying, "He mistakes for fame an extended pillory that he is standing on," and was echoed by his wife; "Colenso is not worth talking about for five minutes, except for the absurdity of a man making arithmetical onslaughts on the Pentateuch with a Bishop's little black silk apron on him." Among high churchmen Carlyle commended Dr. Pusey as "solid and judicious," and fraternized with the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce); but he called Keble "an ape," and said of Cardinal Newman that he had "no more brains than an ordinary-sized rabbit." Tyndall he liked, but usually he spoke with disdain of the scientific discoverers of the age—conspicuously so of Darwin, whom he described as "evolving a man's soul from frog's spawn," adding, "I have no patience with these gorilla damnifications of humanity." His obtuseness of mind in certain directions was also betrayed by his comment on George Eliot, whose "Adam Bede" he pronounced "simply dull." Mr. Gladstone he regarded not merely as an orator who knowing nothing at all as it ought to be known, had flung his force into specious sentiments, but as the representative of the numerous cants of the age—differing from others in that cant seemed true to him. Daniel O'Connell he denounced as the chief quack of the then world; the Demosthenes of blarney. On the other hand, he was the first of Englishmen to speak of Bismarck with insight and justice. "Considerable misconception," he wrote, in 1870, "as to Herr von Bismarck is still prevalent in England. He, as I read him, is not a person of Napoleonic ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleonic." Turning for a moment to literary criticisms which were eulogistic, we observe that Dryden is termed "a great poet born in the worst of times;" Addison, "an instance of one formal man doing great things," and Swift, "by far the greatest man of that time, not unfeeling," who "carried sarcasm to an epic pitch." Pope, we are told, had "one of the finest heads ever known." Sterne is handled with a tenderness strongly contrasted with the death sentence pronounced on him by Thackeray: "Much is forgiven him because he loved much—a good, simple being, after all." Johnson, the "much enduring," is niched, as we know, among Carlyles's heroes. Hume, with "a far duller kind of sense," is commended for "noble perseverance and stoic endurance of failure, but his eye was not open to faith." Among his own contemporaries, Carlyle's highest praise is reserved for Ruskin, whom he looked upon as no mere art critic, but as a moral power worthy to receive and carry onward his own cross of fire. He admired all Ruskin's books; the "Stones of Venice," the most solid structure of the group, he named "Sermons in Stones;" he resented an attack on "Sesame and Lilies" as if the book had been his own, and passages of the "Queen of the Air" went into his heart, he said, "like arrows."

II.

It is well known to readers of Carlyle that, whatever be the subject of controversy, one can find in his writings arguments pro and con. The difficulties encountered by Mr. Nichol in his attempt to define Carlyle's philosophy spring partly from his subject's love of self-contradiction and partly from the fact that his opinions underwent a signal change in the course of his long life. Touching his contradictions, we are reminded of his praise and blame of the profession of letters as being now the highest priesthood, and then again the meanest trade; of his early exaltation of the writers of newspapers, pamphlets, and books as "the real effective working church of a modern country," and his later expressed contempt for journalism as "mean and demoralizing—we must destroy the faith in newspapers;" of his alternate faith and unfaith in individualism; of his commendation of "the strong warrior" for writing no books, and his taking sides with the mediæval monks against the mediæval king. These contradictions are not only expressions of diverse moods; they are often also indices of different stages of mental movement. The change, whether we choose to call it progress or retrogression, is most marked in the sphere of politics. Some one has said that he who is not radical in his youth is a knave, and that he who is not conservative in his age is a fool. Tried by this criterion, Carlyle was neither fool nor knave. At the close of his student days he was to all intents a radical and believed in democracy. He began not only by sympathizing with the people, but by believing in their capacity to manage best their own affairs, a belief that steadily waned as he grew older until he denied to them even the right to choose their rulers. As late, however, as 1830 he still argued against Irving's conservatism: "He objected to my Reform bill notions, found democracy a thing forbidden, leading even to outer darkness; a thing inevitable, and obliged to lead whithersoever it could." During the same period he clenched his theory by taking a definite side in the controversy of the day. "This," he writes to Macvey Napier, "is the day when the lords are to reject the Reform bill. The poor lords can only accelerate (by perhaps a century) their own otherwise inevitable enough abolition." About the same time he declared that "the slow poison of despotism is worse than the convulsive struggles of anarchy." But he soon passed out of this mood, and proclaimed henceforth with steadiness that liberty to do as we like is a fatal license; that the only true liberty is that of doing what is right, which he construed as living under the laws enacted by the wise. In 1832 he wrote to his wife: "Tell Mrs. Jeffrey that I am that monster made up of all the Whigs hate—a Radical and an absolutist." In the end the absolutist devoured the Radical. The leading counsel against the aristocracy changed his brief and became chief advocate on their side, asserting: "We must recognize the hereditary principle if there is to be any fixity in things." On the question of the suffrage he completely revolved. The result of the Reform bill of 1832 had disappointed him in merely shifting the power from the owners of land to the owners of shops, and in leaving the handicrafts' men and his own peasant class no better off. Before a further extension of the franchise became a point of practical politics, he had arrived at the conviction that the ascertainment of truth and the election of the fittest did not lie with majorities. "Chartism" was the last of his books which contained partial concessions to the democratic creed, the last in which he is willing to regard a wide suffrage as a possible, but by no means the best, expedient. Subsequently in "Past and Present and the Latter Day Pamphlets" he came to hold "that with every extension of the franchise those whom the voters would elect would be steadily inferior and more unfit." Every stage in his political progress is marked by a growing distrust in the judgment of the multitude, a distrust set forth with every variety of metaphor in such sentences as the following: "There is a divine message or eternal regulation of the universe. How find it? All the world answers me, 'Count heads, ask universal suffrage by the ballot box and that will tell!' From Adam's time till now the universe was wont to be of a somewhat abstruse nature, partially disclosing itself to the wise and noble-minded alone whose number was not the majority. Of what use toward the general result of finding out what it is wise to do can the fools be? If of ten men nine are recognizable as fools, which is a common calculation, how in the name of wonder will you ever get a ballot box to grind you out a wisdom from the votes of these ten men? Only by reducing to zero nine of these votes can wisdom issue from your ten. * * * Cease to brag to me of America and its model institutions. On this side of the Atlantic, or on that, democracy is forever impossible. The universe is a monarchy and a hierarchy, the noble in the high places, the ignoble in the low. This is in all times and in all places the Almighty Maker's law." The last sentence indicates the transition from the merely negative aspect of Carlyle's policy of philosophy to the positive, which is his hero worship based on admiration for individual greatness and on notions of fealty and order. "Your noblest men at the summit of affairs is the ideal world of poets. Other aim on this earth we have none. That we all reverence 'great men' is to me the living rock amid all rushings down whatsoever. All that democracy ever meant lies there, the attainment of a truer aristocracy, or government by the best. Make search for the able man. How to get him is the question of questions." It is precisely this question to which Carlyle never gives and hardly attempts a reply, and his failure to answer it invalidates the larger half of his politics.

III.

We have said that it is for inspiration, not instruction, for moral purification, invigoration, and stimulus, not for definite political and social formulas, that we are indebted to Carlyle. If we are asked what new truths he has taught, or what problems he has solved, we can point to but very few. Yet even when vague in his remedies he saw deeply into the undercurrent evils of the time, and was of use by his protest against leaving these evils to adjust themselves—against what has been called the policy of "drifting," or of dealing with them only by catchwords. No one sets a more incisive brand on the meanness that often marks the unrestrained competition of great cities; no one was more effective in his insistence that the mere accumulation of wealth may mean the ruin of true prosperity; no one has assailed with such force the mammon worship and debauchery of his age. Everything he wrote comes home to the individual conscience; and although his claim to be regarded as a moral exemplar may have been diminished, his hold on us as an ethical teacher remains unrelaxed. If his influence has not been continuously progressive, it has been more marked than that of any of his compeers, among whom he was undoubtedly the most imposing personality. On this point Mr. Nichol cites the evidence of one who had known a large proportion of the most remarkable men of the last half century, and who declared that Carlyle was by far the most impressive person he had ever seen, the man who conveyed most forcibly to those who approached him the general impression of genius and force of character which it is impossible either to mistake or to define. The truth about him has been strongly put by Thoreau: "Carlyle alone with his wide humanity has, since Coleridge, kept to us the promise of England. His wisdom provokes rather than informs. He blows down narrow walls and struggles in a lurid light, like the Jothuns to throw the old woman Time. He makes us act rather than think; he does not say Know thyself, which is impossible, but Know thy work. He exaggerates. Yes; but he makes the hour great, the picture bright, the reverence and admiration strong, while mere precise fact is a coil of lead." To this testimony from America Mr. Nichol adds that of a high authority in English letters: "Carlyle's influence and enthusiasm for virtues worthy of it, and in stirring a sense of the reality on one hand and the unreality on the other, of all that men can do and suffer has not been surpassed by any teacher now alive. Whatever later teachers may have done in definitely shaping opinion, here is the firebearer who first conveyed the Promethean spark; here the prophet who first smote the rock." To those who contend that the messages of this prophet are for the most part negative, Mr. Nichol would reply that to be taught what not to do is to be far advanced on the way to affirmative performance.

CLOSE WORK WITH A TIGER.

The Result of a Hunt by Russian Soldiers in Turkestan.

From a St. Petersburg Paper.

At the station of Iliisk, seventy-two versts from Vernoë, in the province of Semiretch (Turkestan), the staff of the Seventh Line Battalion of the Western Siberian Corps was in garrison, together with the second company, during the winter months. Already in the spring of last year a huge tiger had shown himself in the neighborhood of the station, and caused great damage to the Cossacks and Kirghiz of the surrounding villages. Having only shot or flintlock guns, they naturally did not care to venture to give chase to such a foe, but in the autumn notified his presence to the Okhotnitchaya Commanda of the battalion, which made reconnoissances round the station, but did not come across the tiger, who, as subsequent events showed, had betaken himself further up the banks of the River Ili. The number of his tracks, however, in all directions proved that he had visited the place. The autumn being very dry, and it being impossible for him to find food in the rushes, he was compelled to make a descent upon the station itself and carried off a horse. The Cossacks remarked: "That tiger is seeking his death," but nevertheless they dared not risk to follow him up.

On Jan. 25, this year, at dawn, a Kirghiz shepherd was feeding his flock on a little island on the Kiekelenki, an affluent of the Ili, a mile distant from the station. The tiger, coming out from the rushes, which grow very thickly there, seized one of the cows. The Kirghiz, terrified at his unexpected visitor, uttered a shriek and took to his heels, whereupon the tiger left the cow and leaped upon the man, whom he held under his paws and began to devour. The other shepherds, seeing the loss of their comrade, rushed off to the station to warn the Cossack hunters of what had happened. As soon as they received news of the appearance of the tiger, the Cossacks informed the commandant of the company, who proposed to his subaltern to go in pursuit and to take the four best shots with him. Eleven men of the company were selected, and the Captain set out for the island with this command and two Cossack and Kirghiz hunters with two dogs. The men had their rifles and rounds of ammunition, and the officers double-barrels loaded with slugs. Six Cossack hunters had already started earlier with guns and knives. When they reached the island they crossed, landing on the south side.

The island is about 300 sachines long by 100 broad (a sachine is seven English feet), almost entirely overgrown with high rushes. On the north bank there is a big clearing and two little hillocks, not far from the water's edge. Having taken up a good position, the military hunters began to fire into the rushes in the hope of driving out the tiger, who, however, refused to budge. Thereupon one of the Cossacks offered to go to the southeast corner of the island and set fire to the rushes. Separating himself from his comrades, the bold fellow began his task; but the tiger, being startled by the flames, rushed out of the swamp, caught the Cossack, and again disappeared in the rushes to "play" with him. The "play," according to the soldiers, consisted in the tiger rolling on his back and tossing the Cossack from one paw to the other. Finally, incommoded by the flames, he came out, and the others fired at him several shots without result. The "play" proved dear to the venturesome Cossack. The tiger had mangled his left shoulder, arm, and cheek, and it was only thanks to the stiff brim of his forage cap that his skull was not smashed. Furthermore, his left shoulder was dislocated, and his ribs were lacerated by the tiger's claws. Under the circumstances the Cossacks decided not to fire again for fear of shooting their comrade, and it is difficult to understand why the tiger did not finish him off. It was afterward found that the man had twenty wounds.

The Cossacks, seeing that there was considerable risk in their continuing the hunt, crossed over to the other shore and waited for the arrival of the military. Meanwhile the "commanda" had been waiting for boats, as the Captain would not allow his men to pass by the ford. When the boats came up they all landed on the east side of the island and crossed to the hillocks on the north end. The whole distance from the rushes to the water's edge was between thirty and forty sachines. From the hillocks the soldiers got nearer the rushes, and the Captain ordered his men to keep in groups of two or three, a few paces apart, and to advance slowly with loaded rifles. When they had got up to within fifteen sachines of the rushes they halted to wait for the tiger. Several of the privates volunteered to go in and drive him out, but the Captain absolutely refused, saying that in the rushes the tiger was at home, and would only kill them all, one after the other. Ten minutes of breathless excitement passed. Suddenly the dogs, scenting the tiger, began to give tongue, both pointing to the same spot. The Captain thereupon ordered the men on the left flank to fire a volley, which was followed by a terrific roar, echoing round the whole island. The wounded tiger came out of the rushes, crouching on his muscular limbs, leapt into the open with another tremendous roar, and found himself surrounded. A general salvo from the rifles wounded him again and maddened him still more.

The tiger had miscalculated his spring, and landed in front of the Captain and his corporal. The Captain let fly both barrels point blank, and jumped to the right. The infuriated beast then threw himself on the corporal, who thrust his bayonet into his chest from his own shoulder. The tiger seized the rifle with his teeth. At this critical moment it only remained to use the bayonet, and the privates charged at the word of command. Then began a desperate hand-to-hand combat. The only sounds to be heard were the sullen growls of the wounded tiger and the muffled stabs of the bayonets in his body. Having ground the stock of the rifle to matchwood, he threw away the barrels, and fastening his teeth in the left arm of the corporal threw him down, as well as a man standing beside him. One of the privates hereupon stuck him in the throat, and the others literally lifted him on their bayonets. Taking advantage of this, the corporal rolled away from under the tiger, and the other man, who had also been knocked down, slipped aside and gave the beast the bayonet in the side. The tiger was now staggering under the bayonet thrusts, and the blood was pouring from him in streams. As an instance of his strength it may be noted that when two of the soldiers planted their bayonets under his forearms, the beast in his rage struck so violently with his forepaws on the rifles that he knocked them out of the grasp of the men, and broke the bayonet of one short off in his body.

The tiger measured four archines, and weighed fifteen puds (equal to 9 feet 4 inches, and 541 pounds). The corporal had sixteen wounds, but none dangerous. Seven bullets were found in the body of the tiger, shapeless, as they are picked up usually at the targets.